

STATINTL

PARADE

On Duty, "Dirty Tricks" and Democracy

A profile of Maj. Gen. ^{Edward} Edwin Lansdale, the original "Ugly American"

By Stanley Karnow

As he walks his poodle along the shaded street near his split-level Alexandria home, Maj. Gen. Edward Geary Lansdale resembles any number of retired officers pasturing in the Washington suburbs. He is still lean and erect despite his 64 years, and, like so many military pensioners, he finds life somewhat tame after his adventurous career.

But in contrast to the superannuated colonels who reconstruct battles at the dinner table, Lansdale's experiences were of a high order. For he was in times past a dynamic, influential and often controversial figure who single-handedly managed foreign governments and whose behind-the-scenes counsel helped to shape U.S. policy and practice at critical junctures in recent history.

In the Philippines during the early 1950s, for example, Lansdale virtually directed the campaign against the Communist-led Huks in his capacity as special adviser to Ramon Magsaysay, then that country's defense secretary. In Saigon not long after, he effectively kept South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem in office by conspiring to crush his domestic foes while persuading Washington to support him. Later, as the Vietnam war escalated, Lansdale was instrumental in convincing President Eisenhower and Kennedy that the United States and its Vietnamese clients could defeat the Vietcong by relying on counterinsurgency techniques. Some of these techniques, as disclosed in the secret Pentagon Papers, have revealed him to be considerably less savory than the public image of him as an idealist.

Little of the exotic drama that characterized Lansdale's career is apparent in his present manner. He

is a gray, unassuming man whose subdued style borders on self-effacement. Some of his friends suggest that he has lost much of his verve since his wife's death last spring, and he himself concedes that her passing has left him lonely and dispirited. Except for occasional evenings with old cronies, many of them Asia veterans like himself, he leads a rather secluded existence.

Other friends point out that he is weary after years of battling bureaucrats who oppose his unconventional ideas, and Lansdale himself substantiates that view with bitter humor when he says that "the knives going in don't seem to hurt anymore." Yet, as he speaks, it is clear that he still burns with a hard flame that is nearly religious in fervor. His religion, he explains, is not formal. It is his faith that the United States could have successfully played world policeman by propagating its political philosophy.

At the core of Lansdale's doctrine is the conviction that Communist guerrillas can be defeated in brushfire wars by "winning the hearts and minds" of people. In Vietnam, according to this thesis, the United States should have exported American democratic principles along with guns, money, machinery and food. "We couldn't afford to be just against the Communists," Lansdale has written. "We had to be for something."

Lansdale's proposals often provoked the fury of Establishment strategists, some powerful enough to block his advancement. He has also been derided as a dreamer whose perception of reality was, at best, blurred. At the same time, though, he inspired a coterie of disciples who regarded him as nearly infallible. The debate over him polarized several generations of writers, who debated novels that, whatever the

validity of their arguments, at least endowed him with a measure of literary immortality. William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick portrayed him in *The Ugly American* as Col. Edwin Barnum Hillendale, whose sweet harmonica purportedly stimulated rural Filipinos to oppose Communism. Graham Greene, on the other hand, depicted him in *The Quiet American* as Alden Pyle, the naive

U.S. official who believed that he could mobilize Vietnamese peasants to resist the Communists by instilling them with the precepts of Town Hall democracy.

Although the old soldier has faded away, the debate lingers on. Just as Lederer and Burdick approvingly quote their hero as saying that "if you use the right key, you can maneuver any person or nation any way you want," so Lansdale's disciples still contend that the United States could have attained its objectives in Vietnam by developing psychological warfare methods more efficacious than those employed by the Communists. This view, which became popular during the Kennedy Administration, is best articulated in the articles of Lansdale's close friend, Robert Shaplen, the *New Yorker* correspondent in Saigon, who has long asserted that the United States and its South Vietnamese proteges could have beat the Communists by preempting the revolution. And just as Graham Greene indirectly reproved Lansdale by declaring that Vietnamese "don't want our white skins around telling them what they want," so his present-day critics claim that he never ac-

Stanley Karnow is the former Washington Post Asian correspondent and the author of *Mao and China: From Revolution to Revolution*.

STATINTL

BEST COPY
Available
THROUGHOUT
FOLDER

6/24/98

The Washington Merry-Go-Round**Columnists Bore Gifts to Greeks****By Jack Anderson**

The Greek dictatorship has sponsored a luxury tour for some of America's best-read conservative columnists. In some cases, their wives also made the trip.

Not surprisingly, the red-carpet trip produced a gush of pro-junta columns in the nation's press. Readers, however, didn't know that the tour was financed, at \$2,000 a head, by the government-controlled Hellenic Industrial Development Bank, whose urbane governor, Paul Totomis, once rounded up thousands of innocent Greeks in concentration camps.

Totomis was the Junta's Minister of Public Order for six months after the 1967 coup. This charming Athenian man-about-town put up the columnists at the plush King George Hotel, arranged for their first class travel and picked up their bills for fine wines and Greek foods.

The suave Totomis and his bosses would have gotten their money's worth out of the junket if the only man on it had been Ralph de Toledano, who distributes his conservative views to 100 papers. "For the first time in its 150 years of independence," wrote de Toledano, "Greece is prospering and the people satisfied."

But de Toledano had another gift for the Greeks. When Totomis' bank sponsored a pavilion at the Greek-American

AHEPA conference in Atlanta, deToledano wrote Vice President Spiro Agnew on Totomis' behalf. The Vice President did not know Totomis, but took de Toledano's word for the Greek's good works.

In a personal letter, Agnew — without ever seeing the bank's pavillion — lauded Totomis' contribution to Greek-American amity. The letter has been proudly publicized by Totomis.

The dictatorship reaped further benefits from columnist James J. Kilpatrick, who praised the way things are going under the military regime. The capable, sometimes caustic Kilpatrick failed to tell his millions of readers that the bank had picked up his tab when he singled out the bank for praise.

"The more the present government succeeds in promoting industrial growth around the country, the more secure that government becomes. Through . . . such energetic outfits as the Hellenic Industrial Development Bank, the government is doing just that," wrote Kilpatrick.

Other kind words were written by junketeering columnists Anthony Harrigan, who doubles as executive vice president of the Southern States Industrial Council; former National Press Club President Allan Cromley; Daily Oklahoman bureau chief in Washington; Robert Baskin, Dallas Morning News political writer,

and Oscar Naumann, Journal of Commerce economic writer.

While most of the copy written by the subsidized tourists is favorable to the junta, Cromley and Naumann did take a few honest bites at the dictatorship. Cromley wrote candidly: "The fact is that the present government is a form of dictatorship which exercises sporadic censorship of the press and exists without periodic consent of the government." Naumann criticized the Greek steel industry.

When we questioned the columnists about their week of junketing, the reaction was mixed. De Toledano said: "I'll stick by my friendship with Paul Totomis. I think he's doing a helluva job there." The facile de Toledano said he had even helped out Totomis with a little unpaid public relations work.

Kilpatrick called it a "routine industrial tour," and said he had been led to believe the Greek government had not picked up the tab. Baskin, Cromley and Naumann also spoke frankly with us.

Only Harrigan, who finds even President Nixon's politics too far left for him from time to time, refused to discuss the junket.

We reached Totomis by overseas telephone at his bank in Athens. For 45 minutes he vigorously defended himself. There was nothing wrong with the tour, he said. As for his roundup of Greeks in 1967, he said there had been no com-

plaints from the detainees. In any case, he said he was merely carrying out orders from higher up. "I have lived my entire life in honor," he said.

Footnote: Among other junketeers were travel writer Theo McCormick and U.S. Steel public relations man Tom Geoghegan. One of those invited by Totomis, AP economic writer Sterling Green, turned down the junket because free trips are against AP policy.

Intelligence Reports

Anti-CIA Campaign — The Soviets, apparently, have launched a world-wide campaign to discredit the Central Intelligence Agency. Particularly in Asia, Soviet propaganda blames the CIA for everything from conspiring against President Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines to stirring up ill will between India and Bangladesh.

Mao's Successor — Intelligence reports say China's Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai have discussed how to prepare the Chinese public for the inevitable demise of the revered Mao. The attempt to build up Lin Biao as a successor led to an abortive coup when he got in too big a hurry to take over. Mao is said to recognize, however, that he cannot live much longer and that a successor must be groomed who can hold China together.

© 1972, United Feature Syndicate

Kremlin exploits anti-CIA charges

Soviets stir U.S.-India discord

By Charlotte Saikowski
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

• Washington

For weeks now the Russians have been shrilly playing up India's charges that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is meddling in its internal affairs.

Sensitive about their own relationship with New Delhi, the Soviets appear to be trying to drive an even deeper wedge between India and the United States and to prevent the two from moving toward any healing dialogue.

If the Kremlin's vociferous anti-CIA campaign points up anything, say U.S. officials, it is that the detente between the Soviet Union and the United States does not put an end to the political or ideological rivalry of the two powers. Moscow continues to pursue its own national interests and in the given case that interest lies in expanding its own influence in southern Asia and removing that of the Americans.

The Russians also are trying to discredit U.S. relations with the Philippines. On Oct. 25 Moscow Radio, in an English broadcast to Asia, said that Washington is irritated by the recent developments in Manila and suggested that the CIA had been involved in engineering and financing actions against the Marcos government.

Indian allegations against the CIA were first leveled by the head of the Congress Party late in September. They were then picked up by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and, although they have never been substantiated, they have stirred a storm in Indian politics.

Some Indian media have in effect blamed the American intelligence organization for India's domestic troubles.

Soviets exploit situation

The Russians moved in quickly to exploit the situation and Soviet news media have kept up a steady drumfire of accusation, often citing elaborate particulars that do not even appear in the Indian Press.

In sum, they charge the CIA is engaged in a concerted program of subversion aimed at "undermining India's political and economic independence" and "whitewashing the imperialist aggressive policy of the United States in Asia." The Soviets say the CIA is using scholars, scientists, and teachers in this effort.

Varied ruses charged

Broadcasting in English to Asia on Oct. 20, to cite an example, the Moscow-sponsored Radio Peace and Progress said that the CIA had planted its graduates in India as religious missionaries and that many of these mis-

sionary groups were located in strategic defense regions.

the CIA, working through such philanthropic organizations as Asia Fund, was inciting separatist sentiments in Nagaland and trying to sour relations between India and Bangladesh as well as between India and the Soviet Union. It described these alleged activities in minute detail.

As U.S. officials assess it, the Soviet campaign must be viewed against the backdrop of Moscow's own position in India. That, despite the treaty of friendship, has never been as firm as the Russians would like and they apparently want to shore it up.

Economic relations with New Delhi, for instance, have been complicated over the past few years. The Indians, for one, have not been willing to give the Soviets the desired credits.

A coolish Kremlin view of the Indian economy is reflected in a recent commentary in the Soviet monthly Peoples of Asia and Africa on the 25th anniversary of India's independence. The article points out that India is on the capitalist road of development and that the socialist program of the Congress Party is not socialist by Soviet standards.

Firm base in question

The Russian reader is thus left with the impression that Soviet relations with India are not based on ideological affinity and therefore are not firmly based.

The Kremlin's concern is understandable. Some segments of Indian opinion are critical of the Russian influence on the subcontinent and generally the Indians are thought to place too high a value on their independence to fall under the Soviet thumb.

Hence the Soviet leadership may not be too confident about the stability of its relations with New Delhi and the anti-CIA campaign can be interpreted as an effort to make sure that there are continuing problems between the United States and India and that the current alienation is not patched up.

U.S. officials express dismay at the present coolness in Indian-American relations — engendered in part by Washington's policies during the Indo-Pakistani crisis, the CIA allegations, and New Delhi's pro-Hanoi position on the Vietnam war — and would welcome moves toward a dialogue. But this is seen to be a difficult process given Mrs. Gandhi's present mood.

Meanwhile, the Russians are having a field day.



Lon Nol's dilemma

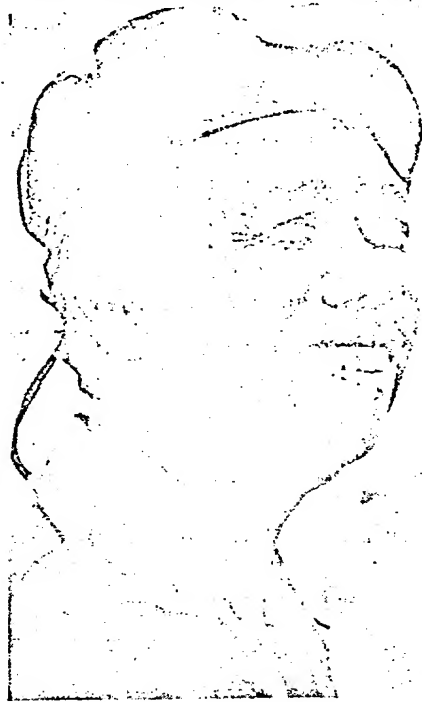
By Edith Lenart

Paris: President Richard Nixon wrote a personal letter to his Cambodian counterpart, Lon Nol, shortly after last month's National Assembly elections, asking the Marshal to nominate a vice-president and to include Opposition members in the new government. What had already disturbed the White House was the fact that Lon Nol had not bothered to take a running mate: the Cambodian Constitution invests much power in the president, and Lon Nol is a very sick man. The Americans were disturbed further when Sirik Matak and In Tam — leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties respectively — decided to boycott the poll because they considered the electoral law unconstitutional.

If President Nixon's demand for a multi-party government upset the Lon Nol-Lon Non duo's plan to consolidate their position, his request for a vice-president doubtless gave them splitting headaches. Apart from Nixon's need to see a more efficient and representative government in Phnom Penh, his demand for a vice-presidential nominee may indicate a desire to prepare Cambodia for the possibility of a negotiated settlement to the Indochina War.

The choice of a vice-president and important Cabinet figures involves personal, clan and party interests: who can be useful, who can be trusted and who can be manipulated. There would appear to be four candidates for the vice-presidency: Son Ngoc Thanh, Sirik Matak, In Tam and Au Chhloe.

If the political scene in fundamentally apolitical Cambodia is highly complicated, Son Ngoc Thanh's position seems



Sirik Matak; In Tam; ailing Lon Nol: Letter from Washington.

even more so. Born in what is now South Vietnam, he is remembered for his anti-French and pro-Japanese position; his anti-monarchy stand; his co-operation with the Vietminh; his long exile in Saigon; and his connections with the CIA. Although he is currently Prime Minister, it is not clear whether he is working for the Lon Nol-Lon Non combination or simply using it for his own ends. Apparently he has the backing of a group of Phnom Penh republicans and intellectuals who would rather have an accommodation with the Khmer Rouge than see Norodom Sihanouk back in Cambodia; this group has been encouraged by Soviet promises that, in the event of a settlement, Moscow will see to it that North Vietnamese and NLF forces withdraw and that Sihanouk does not return to the country.

Sirik Matak's position is much clearer. Considered an agile politician and a capable administrator in Cambodian terms, he has the backing of business interests and some sectors of the military as well as that of the Americans, the Japanese and the French. Because he is a member of the Sisowath branch of the royal family, the republicans suspect him of royalist leanings — if not for Sihanouk, then for himself.

This leaves In Tam and Au Chhloe. In Tam, a former general, has considerable popular support — especially in the countryside — because he is a simple and honest man who fought side-by-side with the people instead of directing the

war from an armchair in Phnom Penh. But since he has no political or clan backing, he would have to fall in with one of the other contenders for political power. Au Chhloe has little to recommend him; an adviser to Lon Nol, he served Sihanouk in several cabinets. Should he be chosen as vice-president, the post would be deprived of every vestige of power.

SOUTH VIETNAM

Sirangling the ICC

By Benjamin Cherry

Saigon: "We are ready for a ceasefire [but] to secure against the communists taking advantage of such a ceasefire, there must be conditions and the most important is the setting up of an international control committee." On the day President Nguyen Van Thieu made this remark in a speech to government officials, professors and students at Saigon University's Faculty of Medicine last week, the last members of the Indian delegation to the existing International Control Commission were leaving Saigon for their new headquarters — Hanoi.

Friction between the Indian delegation and the South Vietnamese Government came to a head in January when New Delhi raised its diplomatic mission in Hanoi to embassy level, while declin-

STATINTL

TACOMA, WASH.

NEWS-TRIBUNE

E - 100 81972

TRIBUNE & LEDGER

S - 97,838

Rev. Karnes Urges Effort to Free Filipino Newsmen

By WIN ANDERSON

A concerted effort by the journalists of the free world urging Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos to release imprisoned newsmen was called for last week by the Rev. Eddie Karnes on his return from that embattled nation.

Karnes, director of the Tacoma Servicemen's Center, stopped off in Manila en route to Vietnam early in September and personally witnessed evidence of terrorist bombings that led to counter-charges between the Marcos government and his Communist opposition regarding who was to blame.

CRUSADE

Karnes again visited Manila to complete arrangements for a religious crusade on his way back to the United States when President Marcos declared martial law, imposed a curfew, jailed more than 50 persons including most of Marcos' most vociferous journalistic critics, and actually taped shut the doors of newspapers and wire services to impose a news blackout.

Karnes said leaving his hotel room to find there were no newspapers was one of the most stunning things he ever experienced.

Only the day before there was every indication that all judicial processes were functioning normally. There was nothing to forewarn the impending crisis.

The next night, Saturday, Sept. 23, Marcos appeared on television to announce martial law, including the death penalty for any civilian caught carrying a gun—even if it were registered.

ONLY PAPER

The following day the

Daily Express, a pro-government paper believed owned by Marcos, appeared as the only newspaper published. It listed the names of persons arrested, and announced reforms Marcos planned to bring about.

At this time more than 200 persons have been arrested and "the country is in a terrible turmoil, on the verge of out and out general insurrection. This is a country of youth, one out of three persons is under 17. Marcos has alienated many of them by bypassing the Constitution," said Karnes.

"Ironically," Karnes said, "Manila is today one of the safest of Asian cities to visit. Crime is down to zero, prices are low, strikes that threatened before have been eliminated."

Longhairs are forced to get haircuts. And with a midnight curfew, "people are getting more sleep and the cabarets are going out of business," said Karnes, adding, "I want to present a balanced picture. Not everything is bad."

APPALLED

But he said he is appalled at the elimination of civil liberties—particularly freedom of the press, by Marcos.

He described his two most fearsome realizations in Manila as finding there were no newspapers one morning and hearing a rumbling sound on a subsequent night and looking out to see tanks, followed by a thousand men, rolling through the streets.

Karnes says the problems of the Philippines are deep but basically stem from the monopoly of power and wealth held by the Catholic Church and a tiny minority

of private citizens and the economic interests of the United States.

America is still loved by the people, much as nearly 30 years ago when Karnes was among the late Gen. McArthur's returning forces, he says.

RIPE FOR REVOLT

"The Philippines nonetheless remain the ripest country in the world for Communist revolution, with masses of poor and many unemployed," says Karnes.

He says to prevent a revolution, Marcos must impose immediate and far-reaching reforms and to restore civil liberties.

"Once the students of the Philippines realize Marcos has in fact instituted a military takeover, they will rise up by the thousands. In the midst of the revolution Red China may be tempted to intervene to protect the interests of Philippine Chinese who hold the reins to much economic power.

CIA CHARGES

"There are charges that the CIA is involved (in Marcos' actions). If so, there is no question in my mind but that the CIA led us into the Vietnam situation," said Karnes, a regular visitor to southeast Asia as part of his religious activities.

"More than ever, I appreciate the free press we have in this country. The morning no papers arrived in Manila, it struck fear into the heart of the country and resulted in great anxiety.

Karnes, a one-time Republican candidate for Congress, said he has written to President Nixon and other leaders and plans to write Marcos, urging the release of the newsmen.

"I urge you and the others concerned newsmen to do the same," he concluded.

DAILY WORLD
5 OCT 1972

The story below, though written prior to the declaration of martial law by President Marcos of the Philippines, adds a revealing dimension to Marcos' act. His aim is to clear the path of mounting opposition based on the many economic and social problems in the Philippines, and to swing the country to the right. The "statehood" movement, reported on here, serves the same purpose.

Utilizing the time-worn cry of "the Red menace," Marcos, as of this writing, has jailed 96 persons of note, including Congressman, governors and journalists. The list is topped by Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr., leader of the opposition Liberal Party, who was to have opposed Marcos for the presidency next year. Marcos has also closed down six newspapers.

Although he has promised steps toward nationalization and land reform, he has also assured U.S. investors there would be no change in "relations established by previous contracts."

State- hood con game in the Philippines

By William J. Pomeroy

LONDON

A monstrous con game, promoted with U.S. backing, has been built up for the past year or more in the Philippines. A fraudulent scheme proclaimed as a campaign to win U.S. statehood for the Philippines, it is aimed at stifling Filipino nationalism and anti-imperialism and at creating a firmer neo-colonial base for big U.S. corporations in Asia. Calling itself "Philippine Statehood, USA," the campaign was launched in mid-1971 with expensive full-page advertisements in the Manila newspapers. By June 1972 its organizers announced that it had enrolled 5,700,000 member-supporters out of the Philippine population of 38 million.

Investigation of the campaign has revealed that it was initially set up with a U.S. CIA agent named West as the chief adviser. Its national chairman is an ex-Congressman, real-estate tycoon and importer of Japanese Suzuki motorcycles, Rufino D. Antonio, who had been close to Ramon Magsaysay, the puppet president that the CIA boasts of having put into office in the early 1950s. Its secretary-general, Bartolome Cabangbang, is a reserve colonel in the Philippine Armed Forces, which are under close direction by the Pentagon.

Vice-chairman for Luzon island is Antonio Roxas-Chua, a Kuomintang Chinese millionaire and sugar comprador

exporting to the U.S. market, who in 1971 was the biggest single financial contributor to the World Anti-Communist League Conference held in Manila.

The movement has brought a large number of ranking military men into its leadership, giving a suspiciously military cast to its organization. Among these are Col. Jose Maristela, a vice-chairman for Luzon; Cols. Concepcion Cardenas, Enrique Perez and Jose Elasingui, directors-general for military affairs; Col. Flaviano Ramirez and Lt. Fidencio Montero, directors-general for intelligence and security; and Cols. Francisco Offemaria and Justiniano Mendoza, directors-general for veterans' organizations. The presence of these elements in a set-up with such military overtones has been pointed to by Filipino progressives as laying the basis for a Rightist coup.

In its propaganda, Philippine Statehood, USA, plays up the United States as a land of milk and honey in which Filipinos would have all their burdens of unemployment, poverty, corruption and general underdevelopment magically removed. Unemployment affects nearly 20% of the Philippine labor force today, and serious partial employment another 20%. Nine out of ten Filipinos, by government figures, are desperately poor, a condition that Antonio, Cabangbang and their crew fail to mention is directly due to U.S. neo-colonial domination.

Nevertheless, Antonio claims that as the 51st U.S. state the Philippines would

soar to prosperity as the base for huge distribution of U.S. commodities in Asia, with "billions of dollars" of U.S. capital flowing in to create an industrial Philippine paradise. Since 1946 the Philippines has been precisely such a base, with U.S. corporations enjoying equal rights with Filipinos in a shameless neo-colonial arrangement. According to the statehood schemers, if Filipinos change their independence to become Americans they will automatically become rich under the same arrangement that has made them poor.

Asked by an interviewer how brown Filipinos could expect equality when Black Americans in the United States suffer racial discrimination, Antonio replied: "The Negroes should be forever thankful to the Americans. Never in their dreams did they think that they would be enjoying the same rights and privileges enjoyed by their white American masters."

The huge membership claims made by Philippine Statehood, USA, are derived from trips to the rural areas by slick organizers. Here, where literacy is slight, impoverished peasants are asked to sign papers written in English that few can read and are made to think that they are petitioning for jobs and government handouts at U.S. income levels.

What is most suspicious and unsavory about this campaign is the fact that, although it is loudly publicized and has become a major issue in the Philippines,

3 OCT 1972

Martial law in Philippines reflects capitalist rivalry

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

LONDON (By airmail) The proclamation of martial law in the Philippines Sept. 23 by President Ferdinand Marcos is mainly a product of bitter rivalry among Filipino ruling groups, all of which are committed in one degree or another to neo-colonial arrangements with U.S., Japanese and other foreign investment interests.

Marcos' drastic step will not be applauded unreservedly however, by these interests, especially by U.S. interests.

U.S. relations with the Philippines have been approaching a critical period. The central economic agreement, the trade act of 1946 that embodies the notorious "parity" provision giving American businessmen equal rights with Filipinos in the supposedly independent country, is due to expire in 1974.

Military treaties under which extensive U.S. bases and U.S. direction of the Philippine army have been enabled are also up for revision.

To the U.S. it is important who is in power when the terms affecting its huge stake in the Philippines (\$1,200 million in direct private investment alone) are renegotiated.

Shaken by court ruling

In August, for example, a tremor went through the American business community in Manila when the Philippine Supreme Court, in a ruling reflecting nationalist sentiment, decreed that American landholdings and other properties acquired under "parity" must be transferred to Filipino hands by July 3, 1974. American interests had been pressing for a retention of such holdings beyond the expiration of the "parity" measure.

Another Supreme Court ruling that came as a shock forbids foreign companies to employ foreign managerial staffs.

President Marcos hastily said that he favored full compensation to American investors rather than confiscation of their holdings in 1974, as some nationalist spokesmen have urged, but with his martial law move in the making he

could not have said otherwise without courting some of the many forms of intervention that the powerful American interests may have used to block such a move.

For some time Marcos has been trying to find a way around a Constitutional provision limiting a President to two terms in office. He is now in his second term, with an election coming up in 1973. One possibility has been to get a Constitutional Convention, meeting since June, 1971, to prepare a new national charter, to remove the limitation. Recently he achieved this, but reportedly only by wholesale bribery of delegates.

Strategy by U.S. interests

There are many signs that American interests have preferred a transfer of leadership in 1973 to the opposition Liberal Party. Alternations of political power have always been a handy mechanism for imperialism to maneuver and play one politician off against another. Marcos' reelection in 1969 upset this pattern, and his continuation in power would upset it further.

American propaganda and press coverage have favored Sen. Benigno Aquino, head of the Liberal Party, the chief prospective opponent of Marcos, and Raul Manglapus' reformist-sounding Christian Social Movement, both stridently anti-Marcos.

Maoists used

The old CIA team in the Philippines was so anti-Marcos that administration protests compelled its change, but the new CIA team, headed by a man named Calaris, has proven to be equally anti-Marcos. One of its specialties has been to infiltrate and encourage the Filipino Maoist group to make trouble for Marcos.

At least one wing of American interests has been promoting a "reform" alternative to Marcos, because of the grave neo-colonial economic situation of poverty, unemployment, high prices and low production which cause mass discontent and a growth of revolutionary movements.

The Maoists, encouraged by anti-Marcos forces to commit adventurist acts to make the ad-

ministration look unstable, have been seized upon by Marcos himself to turn the tables against his enemies. Although the Maoists are only a small group, mainly of radical students, with a minute capacity for carrying out wild calls to revolution, Marcos has deliberately given them a propaganda build-up as a major threat.

Provocations

For the past year a series of suspicious bombings, phony "raids" on towns and arms landing hoaxes, allegedly activities of a half-phantom Maoist "New People's Army", have been played up by the Marcos administration as dangerous subversion necessitating martial law.

On Sept. 15 Marcos accused Liberal Party leaders of meeting in Manila's plush Forbes Park district with Jose Sison, the Maoist chief, to "organize a plan of action in propaganda, in logistics, and in armed struggle" to overthrow his regime.

When martial law was proclaimed Sept. 23, Senator Aquino and a large number of other anti-Marcos politicians in both the Liberal and Nacionalista parties, as well as newspaper publishers and others, were arrested and charged with subversion and with

9 SEP 1972

U.S. interests fight to retain Philippine grip

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

LONDON (By mail)—A Philippine Supreme Court ruling on Aug. 20, asserting that American land ownership rights in that country are to terminate on July 3, 1974, is being bemoaned as a blow to "rights" long enjoyed by imperialist interests in the former American colony.

"Philippine Holdings of Americans Imperiled" was a recent headline in the Wall Street Journal.

Special privileges for American investments in the Philippines constitute one of the worst example of neo-colonialism.

When the Philippines obtained its independence on July 4, 1946, it was a war-ruined country, on which the U.S. imposed an array of treaties that placed its economy, armed forces, foreign affairs and other aspects of life under the domination of U.S. interests and aggressive policies.

One of the agreements was the "parity" privilege. The 1935 Philippine Constitution, which provided for all corporations in the country to become 60 percent Filipino-owned at independence, was forcibly amended under the meanest sort of pressure (the U.S. refused to pay war damages for devastation largely caused by U.S. bombing unless it was agreed to), exempting American citizens from the Constitutional provision and granting them equal rights with Filipinos in the exploitation of natural resources, including land.

Extended in 1955

In 1956 the bootlicking Ramon Magsaysay, placed in the Philippine Presidency by one of the CIA's prize operations, masterminded by Col. (now General) Edward Lansdale, extended American "parity" rights to all sectors of the economy.

The "parity" arrangement was linked to a neo-colonial trade agreement that was to last for 28 years and to terminate in 1974. For the past decade and a half,

American investment interests in the Philippines have been maneuvering to retain their "parity rights" after 1974. Amounting to less than \$250 million at the time of independence, those investments now total around \$1.2 billion (excluding loans and portfolio holdings).

Test case

One of the maneuvers, begun over a decade ago, is the case just ruled upon by the Philippine Supreme Court. An American businessman, William Quasha, initiated a test case, claiming the right to continue owning a plot of land after "parity" ends. This claim for "vested rights" in perpetuity for property acquired by Americans under "parity" was backed by the entire American business community in the Philippines. If they won it, well and good, but it was not the only egg in the neo-colonial basket.

A Philippine Constitutional Convention has been sitting since June, 1971, and will probably last until the end of this year. A central theme has been that of "special rights" for American interests. A policy-making committee of the convention has already adopted a

proposal permitting Americans to own land after 1974.

In this convention, dominated by delegates closely associated with American investment interests, the pet proposal of these interests is for Constitutional guarantees of "national treatment" for U.S. investments. This would merely be "parity" in another form, granting American interests the same treatment that Filipinos enjoy.

Furthermore, in 1969 the present Philippine government passed an Investment Incentives Law which permits Americans to have 100 percent ownership of businesses in fields in which there is allegedly insufficient Filipino capital. Under this law, Ford, General Motors, Caltex and other U.S. monopolies moved recently into the Philippines with huge investments and with an air of confidence in retaining their holdings beyond 1974.

The old colonialism

In actuality, the wholly-owned American business in the Philippine is a rather outmoded form of operation. The 100 percent owned firm was typical of that developed by resident businessmen in the old pre-war colonial period in the Philippines (Quasha is one of them). The multi-national corporation with a joint-venture character, i.e., American-based monopolies with branches in the Philippines, that draw in and make use of Filipino capital, is the new form of operation. By holding 40 percent or even less of a share, the American multi-nationals can control any company in the Philippines.

One way is to scatter the Philippine shareholding among many Filipino minority interests, the 40 percent American share remaining an effective majority. To further this method, stock exchanges have been proliferating in Manila and other Philippine cities.

One scheme put forward is for American banking institutions to lend the Philippines the amount needed to purchase the 60 percent share. This could be in the neighborhood of \$700 million. The interest realizable on such a scheme would be an extra profit for the imperialist interests.

Rains and floods in July and August seriously damaged the Philippine economy and will likely necessitate new foreign borrowings that will limit further the country's ability to eliminate the "parity" scourge.

The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas and other progressive and nationalist forces have long demanded the complete abrogation of all neo-colonial treaties with the U.S. and the nationalization of the banks and key industries in American hands. There will undoubtedly be strong resistance from Filipinos to any refurbished neo-colonial Constitution.

1 SEP 1972

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R

Manila Mystery

An Abandoned Boat Is The Key to a Puzzle Without Any Solution

Philippines Decides Vessel
Took Arms to Communists;
Consider Theories A. to E.
Mother Lode of Filipiniana'

By PETER R. KANN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PALANAN DISTRICT, Philippines — The M/B Karagatan I rests, slightly tilted to starboard, on a shallow shoal in blue Digoyo Bay, 50 yards or so offshore from a deserted white sand beach.

The beach is dotted with palm trees. Behind are the densely jungled foothills of the Sierra Madre range. Gentle waves lap the Karagatan's steel-gray hull. A giant sea turtle floats nearby. It is not a sinister scene.

But this abandoned fishing vessel, grounded off the isolated northeast coast of Luzon Island, is at the heart of a mystery story that—depending on how it is resolved—could have a serious impact on this nation's future. This being the Philippines, the mystery story may not end quite so seriously, or it may well never be resolved at all. But, as it unravels, the tale tells a good deal about this always-confusing and often-amusing country in which nothing can safely be dismissed as improbable.

The tale will begin with a synopsis of the plot—though not a very brief one: the "what" and "where" and "when" as set out by the Philippine government in a white paper entitled "The Palanan Incident" and as related by military leaders in various announcements and interviews. Later the plot will thicken: the "who" and "how" and "why" remain far from resolved.

Beginning of a Fishy Tale

The M/B Karagatan, a modest fishing vessel of 91 gross tons and fewer than 90 feet from bow to stern, turned up in Manila anchorage last May 15. The newly acquired property of a newly formed company called Karagatan Fishing Corp., it was purchased from a Japanese ship broker for \$45,000. Karagatan Fishing Corp. was incorporated last spring by five young Filipinos at a paper value of 199,000 pesos (about \$30,000). The five young men aren't believed to have any substantial personal income or assets. Their registered addresses were found to be fictitious. All five have disappeared without a trace.

While in Manila anchorage, the original crew of the Karagatan was dismissed, and a new crew, largely comprising young men without formal marine training, took over the boat. The Karagatan was duly registered as a Philippine fishing vessel and was granted a clearance to fish in waters off Palawan on the southern coast of Luzon. On June 3 the Karagatan chugged out of Manila Bay.

The precise movements of the Karagatan between June 3 and July 4 remain an enigma. The crew evidently didn't keep a formal log for this period. A "movement log," with some bearings and distances, was later recovered, however, and indicates that the Karagatan passed up the west coast of Luzon in the direction not of Palawan but of Palanan.

Isabela Province, of which Palanan District is a part, is the main base area of the New People's Army. The NPA, as it's called, is the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines Marxist-Leninist (that's the party's formal title). The party is the most militant and Maoist-oriented of three Communist parties currently operating—illegally—in the Philippines. The NPA insurgents, many of them students who head from Manila universities into the hills, are said to number anywhere from a few hundred to 1,000. The isolated mountains and jungles of Isabela provide them with a secure redoubt, and it is here that they are said to be organizing and training—and arming.

Found: A Vessel; Lost: A Crew

This spring there were several scattered reports of small boats landing supplies, mostly foodstuffs but also some weapons, along the Palanan coast. The reports apparently weren't taken very seriously at the time.

On July 3 military officials received "information" regarding an "unidentified vessel" in Digoyo Bay "allegedly engaged in suspicious activities." A military police patrol was dispatched to Digoyo, but by the time it arrived, by boat, on July 5, it found the Karagatan abandoned, its crew vanished.

While trying to take the Karagatan under tow, the police patrol came under hostile fire from the shoreline. The battle of Palanan was joined. To what extent the battle escalated in the following few days and to what extent stories of the battle have escalated in the following weeks are subject to some dispute. The Philippine armed forces speak of a major engagement "with a large armed group with seemingly unlimited supplies of ammunition." Naval vessels were summoned to Digoyo Bay to shell the coastline, and air strikes were called in on "enemy" positions.

Some sources remain a bit skeptical of the combat reports. Was there really a lot of fighting? A Western military attache is asked. "Well, I hear there was a lot of shooting," he replies. What were the naval and air barrages aimed at? "The forest," he answers. Casualty figures for the battle of Palanan are four dead Filipino soldiers and no dead NPA. The army has stoutly denied newspaper reports that the four soldiers drowned while wading in a stream.

Enter the Dumagats

In any case, the army says the battle continued for much of a week and was finally broken off when "coordinated air and naval bombardment" resulted in the "demoralization of the NPA and, more important, the scampering away of their cargadores (porters), especially the Dumagats."

(The Dumagats, a primitive aboriginal tribe inhabiting the Palanan Coast, are relevant to the story because the army claims to have picked up important bits of information from Dumagat debriefings. Dumagats, however, are somewhat unprepossessing intelligence agents. For one thing, those few Dumagats who can count at all are believed to equate the number

STATINTL

continued

Maoists of Philippines spread CIA propaganda

STATINTL

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

LONDON—Sections of the American left are currently being flooded with propaganda of an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet nature that emanates from the Philippines. Ostensibly it comes from a group that calls itself the "Communist Party of the Philippines, Mao Tse-tung Thought," but its origins are far more murky and sinister.

The Maoist group in the Philippines, which came into organized existence in 1963, is student-based, its members being mostly the off-spring of well-to-do families. It was founded by a youth, Jose Sison, who was expelled from the genuine, mass-based Partido Komunistang Pilipinas (PKP) in 1967 for factional intrigue.

Sison, who formed his "party" after visiting China and conferring with Mao Tse-tung personally, is a faithful parrot of Maoist doctrine, down to the last comma, with scant regard for Philippine conditions.

Family links to army

From the outset a surprising number of the leading Filipino Maoists, particularly those heading their student organization, Kabataang Makabayan, have been the sons of army officers and top-level Philippine intelligence officials. As revealed publicly, a Maoist armed force, the so-called "New People's Army," was set up with the aid of a big landlord-politician, Senator Benigno Aquino, secretary-general of the Liberal Party, one of the two dominant bourgeois parties in the Philippines.

Two of the leading Filipino business-newspaper tycoon families, the Lopezes and the Roceses, publishers of the Manila Chronicle and the Manila Times, have lent propaganda and material assistance to the Maoists, and a

newspaper columnist in their employ has been identified as a "collector" in the Manila business community who has turned over 200,000 pesos (\$30,000) at a time to the Maoists.

The cause of all this support and attention for an ultra-left group from reactionary Philippine circles has been, of course, the vicious anti-Communist line of Sison and his "activists." The whole weight of Maoist propaganda, turned out by the ton and finding its way easily and daily into the Philippine press and American news services, has been directed to attacks on the PKP, which has been smeared as "revisionist," "renegadeist," "pro-imperialist," "fascist" and with even more filthy terms. As a result the once-promising national-democratic movement that emerged in recent years in the Philippines has been split asunder and fragmented.

Fingered Communists

Reaction-backed Maoism has not stopped at this. Early this year Sison's group printed a poster listing alleged members of the underground PKP and plastered it all over the walls and buildings of Manila. In both Manila and the provinces PKP members have been murdered by armed Maoists and death threats have been sent to others.

Since the Maoist "party" was set up, however, significant changes have occurred in its composition and leadership. Some of its leading adherents who were sincere and who opposed gutter-type attacks on the PKP have been removed from the scene: one, Nilo Tayag, was lured to arrest under mysterious circumstances and is in prison, and another, Carlos del Rosario, was kidnapped and murdered.

The main trend of this "Mao Tse-tung Thought" group has been toward links with the anti-Communist Catholic organizations,

especially, have been an American instrument for making use of the Maoists, for anti-Communist purposes.

In 1971, a cadet at the Philippine Military Academy in Daguio, Victor Corpus, defected and joined the Maoists' "New People's Army." Shortly after, Commander Dante, a peasant close to Senator Aquino, who initially had been much publicized as the NPA guerrilla here, vanished, presumed liquidated, and Victor Corpus became the NPA leader. Corpus has a La Salle background and has been strongly under the influence of the La Salle Brothers.

The student organ in La Salle University in Manila regularly reprints in full the contents of the Maoist "theoretical" periodical, Ang Bayan, and it is believed that Ang Bayan itself is now published on the premises of La Salle University. A Maoist "united front" body in Manila, the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, is mainly an alliance of the Kabataang Makabayan with Catholic organizations.

U.S. influence seen

This development needs to be seen in the light of one of the key American imperialist schemes in the Philippines: the use of a Catholic Church-based movement to promote a pseudo-social democracy to counter the growth of Filipino revolutionary forces led by the PKP. A Jesuit-led Christian Social Movement, headed by Raul Manglapus, is the mass-organizational phase of this, making use of vague revolutionary-sounding slogans.

American left warned

The La Salle-Jesuit alliance with the Maoists is the more vicious phase of the American-directed operation: to divide,

21 JUL 1972

Maoists of Philippines spread CIA propaganda

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

LONDON—Sections of the American left are currently being flooded with propaganda of an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet nature that emanates from the Philippines. Ostensibly it comes from a group that calls itself the "Communist Party of the Philippines, Mao Tse-tung Thought," but its origins are far more murky and sinister.

The Maoist group in the Philippines, which came into organized existence in 1968, is student-based, its members being mostly the off-spring of well-to-do families. It was founded by a youth, Jose Sison, who was expelled from the genuine, mass-based Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) in 1967 for factional intrigue.

Sison, who formed his "party" after visiting China and conferring with Mao Tse-tung personally, is a faithful parrot of Maoist doctrine, down to the last comma, with scant regard for Philippine conditions.

Family links to army

From the outset a surprising number of the leading Filipino Maoists, particularly those heading their student organization, Kabataang Makabayan, have been the sons of army officers and top-level Philippine intelligence officials. As revealed publicly, a Maoist armed force, the so-called "New People's Army," was set up with the aid of a big landlord-politician, Senator Benigno Aquino, secretary-general of the Liberal Party, one of the two dominant bourgeois parties in the Philippines.

Two of the leading Filipino business-newspaper tycoon families, the Lopezes and the Roceses, publishers of the Manila Chronicle and the Manila Times, have lent propaganda and material assistance to the Maoists, and a newspaper columnist in their employ has been identified as a "collector" in the Manila business community who has turned over 200,000 pesos (\$30,000) at a time to the Maoists.

The cause of all this support and attention for an ultra-left group from reactionary Philippine circles has been, of course, the vicious anti-Communist line of Sison and his "activists." The whole weight of Maoist propaganda, turned on its head, is finding its way easily and daily

into the Philippine press and American news services, has been directed to attacks on the PKP, which has been smeared as "revisionist," "renegadist," "pro-imperialist," "fascist" and with even more filthy terms. As a result the once-promising national-democratic movement that emerged in recent years in the Philippines has been split asunder and fragmented.

Fingered Communists

Reaction-backed Maoism has not stopped at this. Early this year Sison's group printed a poster listing alleged members of the underground PKP and plastered it all over the walls and buildings of Manila. In both Manila and the provinces PKP members have been murdered by armed Maoists and death threats have been sent to others.

Since the Maoist "party" was set up, however, significant changes have occurred in its composition and leadership. Some of its leading adherents who were sincere and who opposed gutter-type attacks on the PKP have been removed from the scene: one, Nilo Tayag, was lured to arrest under mysterious circumstances and is in prison, and another, Carlos del Rosario, was kidnapped and murdered.

The main trend of this "Mao Tse-tung Thought" group has been toward links with the anti-Communist Catholic organizations, particularly in the universities of the Jesuits and of the La Salle Brothers. Both of these are American-controlled in the Philippines. The La Salle Brothers, especially, have been an American instrument for making use of the Maoists, for anti-Communist purposes.

In 1971, a cadet at the Philippine Military Academy in Baguio, Victor Corpus, defected and joined the Maoists' "New People's Army." Shortly after, Commander Dante, a peasant close to Senator Aquino, who initially had

been much publicized as the NPA guerrilla here, vanished, presumed liquidated, and Victor Corpus became the NPA leader. Corpus has a La Salle background and has been strongly under the influence of the La Salle Brothers.

The student organ in La Salle University in Manila regularly reprints in full the contents of the Maoist "theoretical" periodical, Ang Bayan, and it is believed that Ang Bayan itself is now published on the premises of La Salle University. A Maoist "united front" body in Manila, the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, is mainly an alliance of the Kabataang Makabayan with Catholic organizations.

U.S. influence seen

This development needs to be seen in the light of one of the key American imperialist schemes in the Philippines: the use of a Catholic Church-based movement to promote a pseudo-social democracy to counter the growth of Filipino revolutionary forces led by the PKP. A Jesuit-led Christian Social Movement, headed by Raul Mapglapus, is the mass-organizational phase of this, making use of vague revolutionary-sounding slogans.

American left warned

The La Salle-Jesuit alliance with the Maoists is the more vicious phase of the American-directed operation: to divide, smear and discredit the left, or even to murder its responsible members. The infiltration of the Maoists by these elements, with the CIA figuring prominently in the picture, has gone so far that "Mao Tse-tung Thought" in the Philippines is today a brainchild of the CIA.

This is the wrecking career of the Maoist group in the Philippines, which is now exporting its propaganda abroad to mis-

April 1972

Maoist Disruption in the Philippines*

The Communist Party of the Philippines (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, or PKP), conducting a difficult struggle under harsh conditions of illegality against the neo-colonial domination of American imperialism, has been compelled for some time to contend with an equally vicious assault upon itself from the ultra-Left. This comes from an unscrupulous Maoist splinter group that is openly backed and encouraged in its anti-Party excesses by the Peking leadership, the attitude of which makes it difficult not to conclude that its aim is to destroy the PKP, the tested vanguard of the Philippine working class, as part of a policy of establishing control over the liberation movements of Asia, as the cornerstone of a similar world drive.

Besides being nurtured and supported by Peking, the Maoist phenomenon in the Philippines has been given the maximum leeway and encouragement by American imperialism. The CIA and its Philippine counterparts and neo-colonialist groupings have in a variety of ways fostered and made use of the adventurist, splittist activities of the Maoists, who are significantly well-financed to a degree never experienced, now or in the past, by the PKP and the movements it has led. This convergence of Peking and American imperialist intrigues is one of the most marked features of the Philippine situation.

A considerable amount of confusion and misunderstanding has been created abroad about events and movements in the Philippines because of the Maoists' arbitrary and shameless usurpation of the name of the Communist Party and because their activities are widely and deliberately publicized by the imperialist press as if they were those of the genuine Communist Party of the Philippines, reports that have been readily picked up and enlarged upon in the radical and ultra-Left press in the United States and elsewhere.

Imperialist Splitting Tactics

One of the chief tactical aims of American imperialism in trying to cope with the Philippine revolutionary movement has been to attempt to split its vanguard party and the organized masses under the party's influence. American imperialism has had to contend with the fact that, from its foundation in 1930 and through the armed struggle of the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (HMB) or Army of the National Liberation in the 1950s, the Communist Party of the Philippines (PKP) was the undisputed ideological leader of the Filipino left. No Social-Democratic, Trotskyite, anarchist or other deviationist groups had existed up to that time in the Philippines revolutionary movement. The PKP had unrivalled prestige especially among the peasantry and urban working class in which it had sunk deep roots during decades of dedicated and uncompromising struggle.

The first serious splitting effort by American imperialism occurred in the latter stage of the Huk armed struggle, and emanated from the intelligence agencies connected with the Philippine Department of National Defense, then headed by the CIA stooge, Ramon Mag-saysay, and directed by the Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group stationed in the Philippines. It was an operation to play upon the grievances and to obtain the surrender of Luis Taruc, then with the HMB guerrilla forces as the Organizational Secretary of the PKP. Taruc, who had careerist ambitions within the PKP but due to personal and ideological deficiencies had been unable to realize these, responded to contacts made with him. In 1953 he was expelled from

*This is the first half of a two-part article. The second half will appear

Affairs, December 1967.) Following the CIA-managed election of Ramon Magsaysay to the Philippine presidency, Taruc surrendered to him in 1954. The surrender was negotiated by Benigno Aquino, a young Filipino landlord with eyes on a political career, who was acting for the masterminders, the CIA.

As soon as Taruc surrendered, Magsaysay and his mentors broached to him the idea of organizing a Socialist Party to try to split the PKP-led masses. This scheme sought to capitalize on the fact that Taruc had been a member of the old Socialist Party founded by Pedro Abad Santos in Pampanga province in the early 1930s; it had merged completely with the Communist Party in 1938. The CIA scheme had several flaws. For one thing, the Socialist Party had borne no relation to social-democracy and its anti-Communist manifestations as known in Europe or the United States, and whatever organizational or ideological shortcomings it had had were overcome when it had merged with PKP. For another thing, Taruc was wholly discredited because of his surrender and renegadism and could carry virtually no cadres from the PKP with him. The Socialist Party idea subsided.

Other splitting attempts were made among the large numbers of PKP and HMB political prisoners who were confined in Philippine prisons and army compounds with very long sentences from 1950 onwards. This operation was coordinated by the CIA and Philippine intelligence agencies with Catholic Church circles, particularly the Jesuits, who have mainly American direction in the Philippines. Catholic priests worked to exploit every possible difference and weakness among the political prisoners. The cadres could be counted on one hand who were affected by these intrigues, which involved not the swaying of ideological conviction so much as the making available of an instrument (particularly to get out of prison) on which a prisoner with petty grievances against leaders could lean (petty grievances become greatly magnified in the narrow world of confinement). Luis Taruc, however, readily became a Catholic and was made a leading member of the Jesuit- and CIA-created Christian Social Movement, set up in 1967 with reformist slogans to endeavor to channel mass unrest away from PKP influence.

None of these splitting schemes and intrigues made any significant headway in offsetting the vanguard leadership and prestige of the PKP. American imperialism and its neo-colonial allies have had to think in other terms in regard to coping with a revolutionary movement that they could not physically destroy. These reactionary forces have seen fresh and more interesting opportunities to divide the Left arising out of the new tide of militant and revolutionary struggles that has developed in the Philippines over the past decade.

Resurgence of Revolutionary Struggle

A period of demoralization among the masses and to some extent in Party ranks followed the defeat of the Huk armed struggle in the 1950s. This, however, was of comparatively brief duration in Communist ranks or among the peasant and worker masses that had borne the brunt of bloody military suppression and terror. By the early 1960s a resurgence was well under way. In addition to the rapid revival of mass organizations and struggles, new sections of the population, previously not engaged in sharp battles of an anti-imperialist or class character, have come to the fore in militant confrontation with the neo-colonial system. It is in the non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois sectors that have been involved, without past experience of organization or struggle but extremely impatient for their demands to be satisfied quickly, that imperialism and Peking have found ingredients of trouble-making.

The cause of the new upsurge of the people's movement has been the worsening crisis of the neo-colonialism that was imposed on the

Philippines at the outset of its nominal independence in 1946 and that had precipitated the Huk struggle. Neo-colonialism has confined the Philippines to a backward, mainly agricultural producing and exporting economy under the ever-widening domination of foreign monopolies, and has had a disastrous effect on living conditions of the people.

In particular the peasant masses, denied desperately-needed land reform, have been increasingly impoverished. Between 1948 and 1965 the rate of farm tenancy rose from 38 to 52 per cent, while dispossession of peasant cultivators, both owners and tenants, has forced 60 per cent of the peasantry into the status of agricultural laborers.

For urban workers, a retarding of industrialization and the growth of American-owned industry that is capital-intensive rather than labor-intensive, as needed, has meant rising unemployment and declining real wages. Between 1955 and 1967 soaring prices and living costs caused a fall of 22.4 per cent in real wages for skilled and 14.5 per cent for unskilled labor. Government figures, which seek to minimize the phenomenon, showed 1,067,000 unemployed in 1963, or 8.7 per cent of the labor force, but nationalist economists have contended that true unemployment is around 2,500,000 or 19 per cent of the labor force, while 2,200,000 in addition are idle for 23 to 51 weeks out of the year.

Consequently, the Filipino working classes in general have been prepared for a new stage of struggles. Strikes of increasing frequency have occurred among broad sectors, including those not previously affected by strike action, such as teachers and other government employees, bus drivers, and workers on American military bases, while in the countryside the incidence of armed struggle, which never fully subsided as a result of suppression, has begun to appear again.

Among the most dramatic features of the new period has been the stepping forward into sharp and bitter struggle of middle-class elements, badly hit by high prices, lack of opportunities, professional unemployment and foreign cultural domination. Students and intellectuals in particular have reacted.

It was not until after the defeat of the Huk struggle that Filipino petty-bourgeois elements in significant numbers began to develop an anti-imperialist attitude. An attempt to start a nationalist alternative political party, the Nationalist-Citizens Party, established by Senator Claro M. Recto in 1956, aroused nationalist sentiments among these groups, but the Nationalist-Citizens Party was stifled by imperialist pressures and disappeared after the death of Recto in 1960. The setback in this venture left a residue of frustrated anti-imperialist feeling among intellectuals and students, and helped to cause many of them to turn to the illegal PKP for solutions.

Student youth and those graduating into the professions have encountered the blind alleys of neo-colonial underdevelopment. Of the growing army of unemployed, 25 per cent come from those who have completed the fourth year of secondary school and beyond, half of these being university graduates without jobs of any kind. The impact of this may be gauged from the huge increase in university students in the Philippines (600,000 in 1969, or nearly 20 per cent of those in the 20-24 age group). The explosive effect of this phenomenon of the "educated unemployed" in underdeveloped countries has been plain in a number of such countries, as in the extreme case of the youthful uprising against the progressive Bandaranaike government in Ceylon.

An upheaval among Filipino student youth began at the start of the 1960s, with demonstrations of defiance against harassing investigations in universities by the Congressional Committee on Un-Filipino Activities (CUFA), a puppet carbon-copy of the HUAC in the United States.

did much to generate youthful militancy. By 1964 a Left-wing nationalist youth organization, the Kabataang Makabayan (Nationalist Youth), was established as a rallying center that drew thousands of peasant and worker as well as student youth into its ranks. It played a leading role in stimulating the revival of the general mass movement.

At this time there was admirable unity and solidarity on the Philippine Left, which drew its greatest inspiration from the Huk struggle that had preceded the new movement and from the dedication of the PKP members who had led that struggle and were still in prison. PKP members, both old and new, gave indispensable support to the Kabataang Makabayan and to other new mass organizations that came into being along with it.

The Beginnings of Disruption

One of the figures who became prominent in the popular resurgence was José Maria Sison, a young Filipino student who studied for a time in Indonesia in the early 1960s, where he came in contact with Maoist-inclined members of the Communist Party of Indonesia and of the Chinese community in that country. On his return to the Philippines he became a member of the underground PKP, which guided his activities in the youth movement, particularly in the Kabataang Makabayan, which he headed.

Sison, the son of a large landowner in the Ilocos region of northern Luzon, proved to be inordinately self-centered, with an overweening desire to be the leader of everything on the Left. He became simultaneously the chief editor of *Progressive Review*, the head of the Kabataang Makabayan, the general secretary of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (a broad movement with support of intellectuals, middle-class groups and nationalist businessmen), a vice-chairman of a small Socialist Party started in 1967 by trade unionists, and strove hard to win command of the PKP itself. More pertinently, he had been imbued with a Maoist outlook from his contacts abroad, and the deliberation with which he worked toward swinging the PKP to a Maoist position eventually aroused suspicion that he had received his directives from outside the Philippines.

This effort on the part of Sison became greatly intensified in 1966, coinciding with the outbreak of the "proletarian cultural revolution" in China. Sison, with a small faction of student Party members in the Kabataang Makabayan, conspired to pack a 1967 Party plenum with delegates under his influence so as to capture the central committee for a Maoist orientation. He made his main bid among peasant cadres in Central Luzon, the long-standing mass base area of the movement, confident that he could win over peasants with the Maoist line of "surrounding the cities from the countryside" and similar emphasis on the role of the peasantry. Attempting also to promote a "youth versus the old" split in the Party, he insisted that old cadres should step aside for the young, i.e., Sison's faction in the KM. However, he suffered a profound shock when his efforts were overwhelmingly repudiated. His isolation would have been so complete in the plenum that he announced his resignation from the Party before it met. The Party plenum denounced him for careerism, factionalism and intrigue, and expelled him from the PKP.

Sison then attempted to use his leading posts to seize control of mass organizations. The Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism, of which he had become general secretary, swept him and his entire faction from leading positions. When, rebuffed as well by the large peasant union, Malayang Samahang Magsasaka (MASAKA), he attempted to set up his own "MASAKA," angry peasants drove his henchmen out of the "founding convention" and dissolved it on the spot with a unanimously-supported resolution.

In the case of another organization, the Bertrand Russell Peace

continued

methods; he contacted a Filipino student friend in Belgium to cross to London and send a telegram falsely signed with the name of Bertrand Russell's secretary claiming that one of Sison's henchmen was the authorized BRPF head. This fraudulent effort at forgery and deception, comparable to CIA methods, was of course quickly exposed and Sison's Maoists were ousted from the organization.

A Maoist attempt was made to gain a trade union base for itself, particularly by contacts with leaders of the National Association of Trade Unions, headed by Ignacio Lacsina, who is also chairman of the small Socialist Party, Sison hoping to exploit his link with that body. In due course, the National Association of Trade Unions and the Socialist Party also repudiated and denounced Sison.

In other words, the main significant mass organizations in the Philippines, representing in particular the advanced organized peasants and workers, decisively rejected the Maoist line and its advocates.

The only foothold left to Sison was in the Kabataang Makabayan, which he had always tried to use as his personal property instead of as the collective movement built by many hands that it was. However, the continuous statements made in the KM's name by Sison had caused it to become identified with an irresponsible ultra-Leftist line. Consequently, responsible youth of the Left established a new youth movement, the Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataan Pilipino, or MPKP (Free Union of Filipino Youth). The great majority of members and chapters of the old KM (including all those in Central Luzon, its main base), left that organization and joined the MPKP, which had its launching on November 30, 1967.

A number of student KM chapters remained under Sison's control, but these, too, split in 1968, those who departed forming a new group, the Samahang Demokratikong Kabataan, or SDK (League of Democratic Youth). Its leaders issued a statement attacking the one-man rule of Sison, his careerism, his cowardice for running away from demonstrations attacked by police, and his plagiarism of writings of others, passed off as his own. In 1969 the KM and the SDK patched up their differences to the extent of agreeing on a Maoist outlook and on joint actions, but the SDK, distrustful of Sison, retains its own identity.

The nature of the split engendered by Sison in the Philippine Left is best illustrated by the contrasting composition of the MPKP and the KM. At the second National Congress of the MPKP, held on January 25, 1970, there were 800 delegates, 80 per cent of whom were workers and peasants, the rest being students, professionals and unemployed. At the third congress of the KM, December 12-13, 1970, in contrast, there were 300 delegates, 90 per cent of whom were students.

The Maoists, Peking, and the CIA

Following his expulsion from the PKP, Sison went to China for a prolonged stay, during which he was received by Mao Tse-tung. On his return, with the obvious encouragement of his erstwhile hosts, he undertook strenuous efforts to set up his own party. At first he attempted to bring together former PKP members expelled for Right opportunism in the past, but they would not accept his demand that they be organized under his sole leadership. Finally, he had to fall back on his group of students, less than a dozen of whom had followed him out of the PKP, and whom he appointed as a "central com-

continued

and reestablished" Communist Party of the Philippines, Mao Tse-tung Thought, setting himself up as its chairman under the name of "Amado Guerrero." The manifestos and statements of the "CPP-Mao Thought" promptly were published and circulated by the Peking *Hsinhua News*.

In March 1969 the Sison group took the further step of announcing the formation of a "New People's Army," to serve as the military arm of the "CPP-Mao Thought," and proclaimed the beginnings of "armed revolution," for the seizure of power.

Both before and after setting up the "CPP-Mao Thought," Sison-
"Amado Guerrero" has carried on the most vicious campaign of slander against the PKP and those he associates with it. In doing so, he and his petty-bourgeois clique have violated in an informer-provocateur manner all the principles of an underground movement, bringing out into the open policies, activities and personalities, asserted by the Sison group to be identified with the PKP. This has been done in public leaflets, public statements sent to the press, articles published in the bourgeois press, and speeches to mass meetings, all of which have provided the imperialist intelligence agencies with a wealth of information about the underground. Together with this has been the publication and circulation of the foulest lies concerning the morals and the integrity of those who refused to come under the Maoist thumb.

In its attacks on the PKP the Sison group has resorted not to serious polemics but to the most brazen and irresponsible use of name-calling and of inflammatory phrases, the whole gamut of malicious invective that the Maoists have invented in place of rational argument: "revisionist renegade," "imperialist tools," "black bourgeois gang," "counter-revolutionary lickspittle," "running dogs," "subservient capitalist lackey," none of which is defined, explained or linked with specific acts. KM students use these and other derogatory epithets, Red Guard style, in juvenile chants during demonstrations. Sison chose to focus his attacks on the past leaders of the PKP, José and Jesús Lava, whom the imperialists and neo-colonialists had imprisoned with life sentences for their dedication to the cause of the Philippine revolution, and all PKP members and supporters or sympathizers thus were branded "Lava revisionists." (One of the main CIA-Philippine Army tactics among political prisoners was to try to split rank-and-file members from the Lavas.) Grossly lying accounts of the PKP's history, of its leadership of the HMB, and of its present position have been peddled, giving the most grotesque and untruthful versions of its struggles.

The confusion created by this type of disruption, particularly among young Filipinos without previous experience of organization and struggle, has been much augmented by two factors: 1) the bourgeois press has eagerly printed every statement, document or article produced by the Maoists, who have been afforded the maximum means of publicizing their line and their attacks on the PKP; and 2) the PKP, seeking to promote unity of the Left and to minimize harmful polemics, while correctly preserving proper security safeguards of an illegal organization, tried for as long as possible not to be drawn into retaliatory replies.

In observing the freedom given to Maoist activity and propaganda by the Philippine government and its imperialist mentors, the reminder must be made that the PKP and "all similar organizations" are outlawed under the 1957 Anti-Subversion Law that provides up to the death penalty for leading cadres. Yet the Maoist KM and SDK, advocating the line of Sison's "party" for immediate armed struggle,

continued

have been allowed to have a radio program on a Manila station, have been permitted by the state-run University of the Philippines to have control of the student paper and to use it constantly as a Maoist platform, have their spokesmen on the editorial board of one of the leading bourgeois magazines which regularly projects and adulterates the Maoist groups, and have been helped through reprinting to gain the widest audience for the "CPP-Mao Thought" organ, *Ang Bayan*.

American news services, following the established policy of giving the maximum attention to "New Left" radicalism, have continually played up the KM, the Sison "reorganized party" and its "New People's Army" as if they constitute the only Left and revolutionary movement in the Philippines. (On the other hand, demonstrations by the MPKP, the MASAKA and other organizations, even when many times larger than those called by the KM, as well as their statements, are most often deliberately ignored or given scant attention in the press.)

Significantly, this treatment is paralleled by the constant publicity given the Maoist group by the New China News Agency (*Hsinhua News*). *Hsinhua News* hailed the creation of the "rebuilt Communist Party of the Philippines" and its "New People's Army," continually prints highly exaggerated reports of their activities and of the "raging flames of armed struggle" in which "with guns in hand, the Philippine people led by the party have brought about an excellent revolutionary situation," a statement so far from fact as to be absurd. From China, radio broadcasts of this type, and denunciations of the "revisionist renegades," are constantly beamed into the Philippines in the Philippine languages. By both the Filipino Maoists and their Peking backers it is underscored that the Sison "party" has the support of the Mao-Tse-tung grouping. This interference in the internal affairs of the Philippine people and of their revolutionary movement stands in contrast to the pious efforts of the Peking leadership to pose as the protector of small countries against "superpowers."

In 1971 the Chinese Maoist publishing house in Hong Kong, Ta Kung Pao, published and has sought to give distribution internationally as well as in the Philippines to a book ostensibly by "Amado Guerrero" (Sison), *Philippine Society and Revolution*, which proclaims the author as "chairman of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines," and which grossly distorts the history, the composition, and the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines.

Philippine Society and Revolution is a crudely mechanical application of Maoist doctrine to the Philippine situation. Proclaiming that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," it advocates immediate and protracted armed struggle based on the strategy of surrounding the cities from the countryside, gives the main emphasis to the peasantry as the point of concentration for the revolution, asserts that the petty bourgeoisie is "a reliable ally of the working class" and that the middle peasants are "a reliable ally of the proletariat," and assigns to petty-bourgeois student youth a special role "to link the masses throughout the archipelago." It directs the most virulent slander against the PKP which it calls "revisionist renegades" who allegedly collaborate with imperialism and neo-colonialism and "insist that the struggle be limited to parliamentary struggle." It attacks the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as "social-imperialists" with which the Philippines should have no relations ("it is all a lie that Soviet social-imperialism can extend support to the nation"). It urges relations only with "fraternal parties, with revolutionary movements and with socialist countries like the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania."

continued

and enabled to circulate such ideas by such varied channels of east-west publicity reveals some curious features. An astonishing number of KM-SDK leaders, including chairmen and top council members, are the sons and daughters of well-to-do families. One of them is the son of an executive of the American oil company, Caltex. Far more interesting is the number with close relatives in Philippine intelligence agencies. The chairman of the KM in 1970-71 has an uncle in the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA), the Philippine equivalent of the CIA that has four CIA liaison officers of its staff; this uncle's son is also a KM member. The chairman of the SDK is the son of the head of the Philippine Army's Judge Advocate General's Office (JAGO) in the 1950s, who prosecuted innumerable HMB and PKP members. The father of another KM leader was the chief of the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) in the 1950s, the most ruthless enemy of the Huk movement. Another top KM leader's father is an agent of the National Bureau of Investigation, Philippine equivalent of the FBI, and his uncle is a presidential agent of President Marcos. Sison's own brother is an NBI agent. (The organ of the Free Union of Filipino Youth (the MPKP) *Struggle*, Vol. III, No. 1, January 1971, gives the names of these and other Maoists with such family associations.)

In 1970 a woman member of the Kabataang Makabayan's national council, appointed by Sison, revealed herself as a member of the women's unit in the Philippine Army, assigned to the KM as an infiltrator; she testified in court against arrested youth militants. In mid-1971 the second in command of the "New People's Army," a Commander Melody (Benjamin Bie), one of those appointed by Sison to be a member of the "central committee" of his "party," turned out to be an agent of the Philippine Army intelligence. He was used as a witness to expose the Sison-"New People's Army" link with landlord-politicians and other wealthy anti-Marcos figures, and to prosecute peasants recruited into the NPA and captured by the army. In August 1971 President Marcos publicly boasted that the Maoist movement had been infiltrated at all levels by government agents:

Ignacio Lacsina, president of the National Association of Trade Unions, who was courted by the Maoists and then attacked by them as a "traitor" and a "renegade" when he attended conferences of the World Federation of Trade Unions, had this to say in a speech on Labor Day (May 1) 1971:

When we were still in constant company with activists, we used to be dragged about by the KM to join forces with them in their use of violence and provocations in demonstrations. They also would enjoin us to shout with them revolutionary slogans. But we know that if we shout even half of what is expected by the CIA agents that have infiltrated KM, these elements would destroy in one day the whole NATU. When we could not be intimidated by the KM, we suddenly became ourselves the target of their attack. They called us a fake federation and me a fake labor leader, a revisionist reactionary, and similar names. What the CIA would like to do now, having been frustrated in their first plan, is to destroy us in the eyes of the working class and in so doing they expect us to be deserted by our comrades and members.

STATINTL

quote - unquote

—From a United Press International interview by Edward K. DeLong with Victor Marchetti who quit the CIA after working there 14 years. The full text of the interview was published in U.S. News & World Report, Oct. 11, 1971.

"Marchetti said areas where the CIA might launch future clandestine paramilitary activities include South America, India, Africa and the Philippines — all places in the throes of social upheaval. Upheaval, he said, is what prompts the CIA director to begin planning clandestine activities in a country. . . .

"In addition to Air America, Marchetti said, the CIA has set up both Southern Air Transport in Miami and Rocky Mountain Air in Phoenix for possible use in paramilitary operations in South America. Similar fake airlines have been bought and sold all over the world, he said, including one in Nepal and another in East Africa."

CIA's murderous role outrages the Filipinos

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

LONDON

Publication of the Pentagon Papers that has blasted a gaping hole in the credibility of a string of American administrations has set off a secondary explosion in the Philippines, where the role of the puppet Magsaysay administration in aiding the American aggression in Vietnam has been exposed.

One of the main reports in the Papers is that by Brig. Gen. Edward G. Lansdale, in which he discusses in detail the actions taken by the CIA from before the Geneva Agreement of 1954 onward to promote suppressive counter-guerrilla warfare in Vietnam and Laos and to build up Ngo Dinh Diem as the American instrument to frustrate the Agreement. Lansdale was well-known before that in the Philippines, since he was the CIA agent who masterminded many aspects of the anti-Huk suppression campaign in the country and who groomed Ramon Magsaysay for the presidency and ran his election campaign.

In a number of the actions detailed by Lansdale in his report Filipinos who were part of the Magsaysay apparatus and with whom Lansdale had worked in the Philippines played a leading part. Magsaysay himself as honorary president, backed the setting up of an outfit initially called the Freedom Company, "a non-profit Philippine corporation," which had the assignment of recruiting Filipinos who had participated in the anti-Huk suppression for similar service in Vietnam and Laos.

After Freedom Company was organized in November 1954, it was apparently felt that its name did not sufficiently disguise its operations, so it was changed to Eastern Construction Company. (The CIA has created a maze of such "corporations" around the world, through which its espionage and subversive activities are carried on.)

As the Lansdale report states, "The head of Eastern Construction is Frisco 'Johnny' San Juan, former National Commander, Philippines Veterans Legion, and for-

mer close staff assistant to President Magsaysay (serving as Presidential Complaints and Action Commissioner directly under the President)." San Juan went on to a political career and is now a congressman from Rizal province.

Lansdale praised the almost untapped potential of Eastern Construction for unconventional warfare "which was its original mission." He wrote that "this cadre can be expanded into a wide range of counter-Communist activities, having sufficient stature in the Philippines to be able to draw on a very large segment of its trained, experienced and well-motivated manpower pool." After a few years, "It now furnishes about 500 trained, experienced Filipino technicians to the Governments of Vietnam and Laos, under the auspices of MAAG (MAP) and USOM (ICA) activities."

MAAG are the initials for Military Assistance Advisory Group, and MAP for Military Assistance Program in Vietnam; USOM stands for United States Operation Mission, and ICA for International Cooperation Administration.

The Freedom-Eastern Construction outfit was also assigned the task of running a training camp for anti-Communist Vietnamese para-military units in a hidden valley on the Clark Air Base reservation in the Philippines.

In addition the Magsaysay government agreed to operate a psychological warfare counter-guerrilla school called the Security Training Center, located at Fort McKinley on the rim of Manila. This, as the Pentagon Papers mentions, was secretly sponsored and financed by the CIA. This trained "anti-subversion" personnel for all of Southeast Asia.

Another Filipino-linked scheme

was the so-called Operation Brotherhood, which came about following a visit in 1954 to see Lansdale in Saigon by Oscar Arellano, a Filipino close to Magsaysay who was then vice president for Asia of the International Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees). Arellano came away from this visit to advocate the setting up of Operation Brotherhood, which was played up in the Philippines at the time as a semi-religious altruistic medical mission.

However, as Lansdale explains it, it was "capable of considerable expansion in socio-economic medical operations to support counter-guerrilla actions," and he says that "Washington responded warmly to the idea." According to Lansdale, the Saigon Military Mission that he then headed would "monitor the operation quietly in the background" and that "it has a measure of CIA control."

Oscar Arellano, following the publication of the Pentagon Papers issued a defensive statement claiming that "OB has always been a presidential program since the administration of President Magsaysay. OB's mission is the propagation of the conviction that all men are brothers, created by a Supreme Divinity to whom He gave His image and likeness and imbued with His spirit."

A third Filipino operation was headed by Col. Napoleon Valeriano, who was given the job of training a Presidential Guard Battalion for Ngo Dinh Diem, after having done the same for Magsaysay. Valeriano was selected, says Lansdale, for his "fine record against the Communist Huks." In the Philippines, Valeriano had commanded the most brutal and notorious of all anti-Huk units, called the "Skull Unit."

KEY VIETNAM TEXTS THE KENNEDY YEARS

Following are texts of key documents accompanying the Pentagon's study of the Vietnam war, dealing with the Administration of President John F. Kennedy up to the events that brought the overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963. Except where excerpting is specified, the documents are printed verbatim, with only unmistakable typographical errors corrected.

U.S. Ambassador's '60 Analysis Of Threats to Saigon Regime

Cablegram from Elbridge Durbrow, United States Ambassador in Saigon, to Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, Sept. 16, 1960.

As indicated, our 495 and 538 Diem regime confronted by two separate but related dangers. Danger from demonstrations or coup attempt in Saigon could occur earlier; likely to be predominantly non-Communist in origin but Communists can be expected to endeavor infiltrate and exploit any such attempt. Even more serious danger is gradual Viet Cong extension of control over countryside which, if current Communist progress continues, would mean loss free Viet-nam to Communists. These two dangers are related because Communist successes in rural areas embolden them to extend their activities to Saigon and because non-Communist temptation to engage in demonstrations or coup is partly motivated by sincere desire prevent Communist take-over in Viet-nam.

Essentially [word illegible] sets of measures required to meet these two dangers. For Saigon danger essentially political and psychological measures required. For countryside danger security measures as well as political, psychological and economic measures needed. However both sets measures should be carried out simultaneously and to some extent individual steps will be aimed at both dangers.

Security recommendations have been made in our 539 and other messages, including formation internal security council, centralized intelligence, etc. This message therefore deals with our political and economic recommendations. I realize some measures I am recommending are drastic and would be most [word illegible] for an ambassador to make under normal circumstances. But conditions here are by no means

normal. Diem government is in quite serious danger. Therefore, in my opinion prompt and even drastic action is called for. I am well aware that Diem has in past demonstrated astute judgment and has survived other serious crises. Possibly his judgment will prove superior to ours this time, but I believe nevertheless we have no alternative but to give him our best judgment of what we believe is required to preserve his government. While Diem obviously resented my frank talks earlier this year and will probably resent even more suggestions outlined below, he has apparently acted on some of our earlier suggestions and might act on at least some of the following:

1. I would propose have frank and friendly talk with Diem and explain our serious concern about present situation and his political position. I would tell him that, while matters I am raising deal primarily with internal affairs, I would like to talk to him frankly and try to be as helpful as I can be giving him the considered judgment of myself and some of his friends in Washington on appropriate measures to assist him in present serious situation. (Believe it best not indicate talking under instructions.) I would particularly stress desirability of actions to broaden and increase his [word illegible] support prior to 1961 presidential elections required by constitution before end April. I would propose following actions to President:

2. Psychological shock effect is required to take initiative from Communist propagandists as well as non-Communist oppositionists and convince population government taking effective measures to deal with present situation, of hand. To achieve that effect following suggested:

(knc
gue
idly
froi
mir
ma
mo
(
ing
anc
pre
in
thr
fol
in
arr
me
fer
be
job

are c
count
posi
rune
tant
belic
comi
est I
be to
coun
gove
sacri
sugg
appo
(D
henc
genc
diplo
ing
alleg
press

(E)
oppo
onstr
ernm
again

3.
band
its s
of a
Purp
atmo
redu
corru
cove

4. Permit National Assembly wider legislative initiative and area of genuine debate and bestow on it authority to conduct, with appropriate publicity, public investigations of any department of government with right to question any official except President himself. This step would have the following purpose: (A) find some mechanism for dis-

THE PHILIPPINES

REBIRTH OF THE REVOLUTION

ROBIN BLACKBURN

Mr. Blackburn, an editor of New Left Review, was dismissed from his teaching post at the London School of Economics last year for having supported the student action there. Mr. Blackburn co-edited Student Power (Penguin).

The wave of strikes, riots and demonstrations which shook Manila for three months earlier this year signals the re-emergence of a revolutionary movement in a country where it has twice been cruelly robbed of victory.

The war in Vietnam, which has helped to inspire this new eruption, was foreshadowed seven decades ago in the Philippines when the United States claimed the archipelago as its spoils for having won the Spanish-American War. By 1898, a Filipino Revolutionary Government had seized control of most of the country, confining the forces of the Spanish colonial masters to the walled citadel inside Manila. But when the United States had gained its lightning victory over the Spanish in the Atlantic and Caribbean, the Filipino revolutionaries found themselves facing a new enemy. At the Paris Peace Conference, Washington proposed that it should purchase the Philippines for \$20 million; then discovered that dollars alone were not enough to secure its booty. Eventually 70,000 U.S. troops and four years of pitiless war were needed to subdue the Filipino forces. The eventual success of the American occupation was assisted by the fact that the bourgeois leadership of the Filipino Revolutionary Government, after failing to adopt guerrilla tactics, capitulated to the United States. This prologue to the fledgling imperialism of the United States in Asia was the occasion for which Rudyard Kipling composed his most odious hymn to racial destiny: "The White Man's Burden."

In 1945 the Huks (Anti-Japanese Liberation Army) had liberated almost the whole of Luzon, the largest island of the country, and with nearly half the population, when again the United States Army arrived to veto the success. It was not until 1954 that a pro-American government could claim to have established a precarious social peace.

President Ferdinand Marcos was no doubt uneasily aware of this turbulent tradition when early in 1970 he branded the capture by demonstrators of a slice of his Malacañang Palace as an attempt by "Maoist elements" to seize power. Troops fired on the demonstrators (there were six deaths and many hundreds of other casualties), and two frigates were ordered to the palace sea front to rescue the President and his staff. Today a force of 5,000 soldiers is permanently stationed within the palace grounds.

Despite the evident exaggeration in Marcos' description of this incident, it is certainly part of a new revolutionary attempt to smash the neo-colonial state in the Philippines. As Marcos knows, this state is a strange, and far from invulnerable, historical excrescence. It seems to have been designed to violate the most cherished

generalizations that sociologists and political scientists have made about the modern state. Max Weber, for example, defined the state as the body which exercises the monopoly of legitimate force over a given area. In the Philippines, the state does not even seek to challenge the multiplication of armed groups which, together, exceed in size (and often in the quality of their equipment) that of its own armed forces. Every political leader, every large landowner, every major company has a retinue of armed men, quite apart from the private armies which hire themselves out to the highest bidder.

This proliferation of armed force has supported the formal, Western-style, two-party democracy that has prevailed since "independence" was granted in 1946, and it has insured the continued rule by the possessing class and its foreign masters. But it has also insured a genuine pluralism within the ruling groups, such that no faction (army, sugar bloc, etc.) has been able thus far to monopolize effective political power. The two parties, the ruling Nacionalistas and the opposition Liberals, are loose coalitions of financial and political power. Both President Marcos and his predecessor, Macapagal, adroitly switched parties in order to gather a decisive constituency and win "election." At every level, this exchange of party loyalties occurs with change of the ruling party. In Filipino political lingo, it is known as acting "patriotically" by "placing the interests of the nation above those of party." As in many other neo-colonial societies, access to government, where opportunities for financial gain are limitless, is the chief source of capital accumulation, most other sources being foreign-owned.

The official Commission on Elections (Comelec) reports that "rampant overspending, fraud and terrorism marked the last elections," held in November 1969. Seventy-two political assassinations were recorded during the campaign. It added that although "terrorism was the most brazen and scandalous method employed by political warlords to subvert the people's mandate, the Comelec cannot do much to prevent it because it lacks ample power over the law-enforcement agencies acting as its deputies." Indeed, it confessed that "the conduct of Comelec personnel contributed to the disruption of orderly elections." In one constituency in southern Cebu, the Liberals controlled one polling station, the Nacionalistas the other. The Liberals announced that every single one of the 9,400 voters registered in the area had chosen their man, but their timidity was rebuked when the Nacionalista candidate won with a vote some 2,000 greater than the registered total.

This was tame politics, compared with the goings-on in the northern island of Batanes, where an armed band known as the Suzuki Boys took over the whole island for the election period, murdering the local public prosecutor, closing the airport, occupying the radio and telegraph offices, as well as the polling stations, to make certain of the harmonious elevation of their elected patron, Congressman Rufino Antonio, Jr. They secured the cooperation of the local police and armed forces by dressing them-

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
EXAMINER
E - 208,023
EXAMINER & CHRONICLE
S - 648,231

NOV 30 1971

Guy Wright

* * *

MR. WRIGHT: The Yuyitang affair is an example of Chiang's justice, not China's. The smelliest thing is the recurrent rumor that our CIA planned the quickie deportations of the two men from Manila to Forinosa to stand trial. Another rumor is that our planes flew the kidnapped editors to Taipei. We are up to our necks in this one. — A. Brook.

President Marcos of the Philippines also wanted the Yuyitang brothers silenced. A year earlier he had one of them arrested for a critical article, but the case was hurriedly dropped when the respected editor of a rival paper in Manila posted the man's bail.

TULSA, OKLA. Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0

TRIBUNE

AUG 19 1970
E - 79,425

Labor Chief Yarborough Accused in Manila

Reds Label Sooner CIA Spy

A former Tulsa labor leader has become involved in a cloak-and-dagger episode in the Philippines.

He is Len Yarborough, who has been accused of being a CIA spy in a struggle with the Communists over the future of the Philippines.

Yarborough for years was executive vice president of the Oklahoma AFL-CIO.

He is now director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). He apparently has angered Southeastern Asia Communists by stealing a page out of their book.

Yarborough has written Okla-



homans that his chief accuser is Philippine Secretary of Labor Blas F. Ople, described as a leftist and who has tried to have Yarborough run out of the country.

"WE HAVE given about 700 rural people some of our classroom training and expect to develop about 40 teachers out of that group who in turn will teach about 8,000 next year and will increase the number the following year," Yarborough wrote a longtime Oklahoma friend.

"This is the reason the Communists want us out of here. They employed the same system of educating the masses in Indonesia to their cause as we are doing in the Philippines, and they know it work against them."

Yarborough was accused by

Ople of seeking to corrupt labor department officials and cause labor trouble in the islands. Ople sought to shut down the \$427,000 program operated by Yarborough.

THE LABOR secretary went further by demanding that President Marcos declare Yarborough persona non grata, which would have resulted in his expulsion from the islands.

But at least one Filipino took a dim view of Ople and his actions against the AAFLI by writing in the Philippine Herald, a prominent newspaper, "that the labor secretary was not exactly telling the truth."

"The fact is," Emil Jurado wrote, "that Ople himself worked on President Marcos prior to the 1969 elections to have this fund approved and doled out to labor unions in an effort to consolidate labor support."

MARCOS DECLINED to take action against Yarborough, holding that the status of persona non grata could be applied only against diplomatic personnel, and Yarborough was not in the diplomatic service.

Yarborough also sent numerous newspaper clippings as well as a copy of an "affidavit" upon which Ople apparently based his so-called corruption charge.

The "affidavit" purportedly is a sworn statement of a member of Ople's staff who said Yarborough offered to include him in a list of paid seminar lecturers. The statement said the offer was made in a restaurant once and another time in a parking lot and "on both occasions, I ignored Yarborough."

"THIS IS A real joke," Yarborough wrote, "I don't even know where the parking lot is."

Yarborough said he recently made a trip to Hong Kong, Bangkok and Saigon and reported that the "big question among the trade unions in these places now is what will the United States' final decision on assistance to Cambodia be."

Communists, he said, will seek to keep alive and encourage fears and concerns of the various groups involved in the U.S. program.

"In viewing this whole situation one could not possibly envy President Nixon. It is one of those hell-if-you-do-and-hell-if-you-don't circumstances a president finds himself in," the sooner wrote.

Yarborough has been in Southeast Asia for nearly six years. He said, however, he hopes to visit Oklahoma early in September.

E AUG 18 1970

10 Tues., Aug. 18, 1970 OKLAHOMA CITY TIMES

Sooner Finds Philippines No 'Paradise'

By Hugh Hall

Accuser Named

A former Oklahoma labor leader has been accused of being a CIA spy in what he describes as a giant struggle with the Communists over the future of the Philippine Islands.

He is Len Yarborough, former executive vice president of the Oklahoma AFL-CIO headquartered in Oklahoma City, who apparently has aroused Southeast Asian Communists by stealing a leaf from their tactical booklet.



Len Yarborough

Now director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), and based in Manila, Yarborough wrote friends here about the troubles the Reds are giving him.

His chief accuser is Philippine Secretary of Labor Blas F. Ople, described as leftist-leaning, who has sought to have Yarborough run out of the country.

"We have given about 700 rural people some of our classroom training and expect to develop about 40 teachers out of that group who in turn will teach about 8,000 next year and will increase the number the following year," Yarborough wrote C. W. Schowerke, long-time labor lawyer here.

"This is the reason the Communists want us out of here. They employed the same system of educating the masses in Indonesia to their cause as we are doing in the Philippines, and they know it will work against them."

Charge Made

Ople charged Yarborough with seeking to corrupt labor department officials and foment labor trouble in the islands, and sought to shut down the \$427,000 program run by AAFLI.

The labor secretary urged President Marcos to declare Yarborough persona non grata, which would have meant his expulsion from the islands.

At least one Filipino took a dim view of Ople and his actions against AAFLI. The Philippines Herald last March that "the labor secretary was not exactly tell-

STATINTL

ing the truth." Action declared

"The fact is," Jurado wrote, "that Ople himself worked on President Marcos prior to the 1969 elections to have this fund approved and doled out to labor unions in an effort to consolidate labor support."

In another column, Jurado said Ople moved against Yarborough only after he found he could not take over the spending of the \$427,000.

President Marcos declined to take action against Yarborough, holding the status of persona non grata could be applied only against diplomatic personnel, and Yarborough was not in the diplomatic service.

Denial Included

Yarborough included in his letter to Schowerke a distributed denial of Ople's charges in which he outlined his group's objectives as:

"AAFLI is a labor educational institute sponsored by the AFL-CIO for the purpose of assisting free trade unions in the Asian area who seek our cooperation in the fields of trade union education, cooperative development and vocational skills training...."

Request Needed

"AAFLI's established policy is that it does not enter a host country without first receiving a request for cooperation from the national trade unions and obtaining the official approval from the host government to permit AAFLI to conduct a joint union-to-union labor education and assistance program with the trade unions of the particular country."

Yarborough also sent numerous newspaper clippings as well as a copy of an "affidavit" upon which Ople apparently based his "corruption" charge.

Offers Claimed

The "affidavit" purportedly is the sworn statement of one Amado G. Inciong, one of Ople's staff members, who said Yarborough had offered him in a list of paid seminar lecturers, "although I do not have to lecture ac-

tually during the seminar."

The statement said the offer was made once in a restaurant and once in a parking lot in Quezon City, and "on both occasions I ignored Yarborough by sneering at him and holding my peace."

'A Real Joke'

"This is a real joke," Yarborough noted on the margin of the statement. "I don't know where the parking lot is."

Yarborough's organization also extends physical aid to Filipinos, for he wrote that he had just visited a farmer group where AAFLI helped drill a well and install an irrigation pump.

"Within the next month he will have 15 pumps in operation that will give a new lease on life to more than 150 little farmers," he wrote. "It will give them an extra crop of rice plus a number of vegetables that were not available before due to lack of water."

Decision Awaited

Just back from a trip to Hong Kong, Bangkok and Saigon, Yarborough reported that "the big question among the trade unions in these places now is what will the United States' final decision on assistance to Cambodia be."

"They feel," he wrote, "do when he ordered U.S. troops into Cambodia on a stop-gap basis."

Fears Kept Alive

Communists, he said, will seek to keep alive and encourage fears and concerns of the various groups involved in the U.S. program.

"In viewing this whole situation," he summed up, "one could not possibly envy President Nixon. It is one of those hell-if-you-do and hell-if-you-don't circumstances a president finds himself in occasionally."

Yarborough, who has been in Southeast Asia for about six years, wrote he hoped to be in Oklahoma City Sept. 5 and at the big Henryetta Labor Day celebration Sept. 7.

30,000 Defy Accord, Stage Rally in Philippines

By AMANDO E. DORONILA
Special to The Star

MANILA—Some 30,000 students, peasants and workers staged a rally in downtown Plaza Miranda today in defiance of government efforts to diffuse the rallies into small groups on campuses.

Despite an understanding between President Ferdinand E. Marcos and students and union leaders three nights ago that the Plaza Miranda rally be called off to reduce tension, the demonstrators massed in one of the biggest rallies ever held here.

Plaza Miranda resounded with fiery street oratory from student, peasant and union leaders denouncing what they called the "facism" and military "brutality" of the Marcos government, the social injustices and alleged American CIA "interference" in domestic turmoil.

Some Ask Palace March

The rally dispersed tonight after demonstration leaders, avoiding another confrontation between the students and military troops, restrained a call from the streets for a march to Malacanang Palace, scene of a bloody student protest on Jan. 30 in which five students were killed and hundreds were injured.

The rally was held despite efforts by the government to mollify student unrest by granting them a number of concessions.

The demonstration was organized by the Movement for Democratic Philippines, around which is clustered militant nationalist groups constituting the Philippine student left.

Military Denies Plot

They denounced what they said was facism, the colonial structure of Philippine society, the militarism of the Marcos administration, American colonial influence in the country and an alleged coup d'etat plot by the military supported by the CIA.

The military establishment has denied any involvement in a

plot or existence of one. The CIA plot story, nevertheless, has been widely circulated here.

Today's rally went on despite an understanding between the leaders of the student left and Marcos three nights ago that the rallies would be diffused on several campuses. The army was placed on alert today.

Marcos has already taken a

series of steps to placate the students.

Among these are the relief of a long-time friend, Brig. Gen. Vicente Raval, from the command of the Philippine Constabulary, the national police; the disbandment of the Special Forces, the elite of the armed forces, which has become an object of student wrath because of their alleged involvement in the

rigging of elections in some provinces last November, and a cabinet revamping which Marcos said was made in "response to the clamor for change."

Marcos also has made public pledges that he will not seek a third term for president and had persuaded members of the administration Nacionalist party from seeking offices in the constitutional convention next year.

WASHINGTON STATE
11 FEB 1970

STATINTL

Today's News Briefs

Students Say Marcos OKs Demands

MANILA (UPI) — Militant student leaders announced today President Ferdinand E. Marcos has agreed to 13 demands, including one for a review of U.S. aid to the Philippines, to avert more antigovernment demonstrations.

The leaders of nationalistic, farm and labor groups said they were canceling a large demonstration planned against the government for Thursday and instead would hold smaller protests against the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

✓

Spiro to Asia: pay no heed to withdrawal talk

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY
Daily World Correspondent

STATINTL

LONDON, Jan. 14 — As Vice-President Spiro Agnew carried his unpleasant message across Asian countries that "America is not abandoning its role as a Pacific power," his trail crossed that of the British Tory Party leader, Edward Heath, who was uttering virtually identical words about Britain's role. This imperialist duet tended to drown out voices that talk of withdrawal of foreign military forces from the region.

According to the foreign Minister of Thailand, Agnew told him on Jan. 5 that "there will be no change in American policy and no lessening of U.S. commitments to Thailand and Southeast Asia."

In Kuala Lumpur the Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman told reporters that Agnew assured him that "the American withdrawal from Vietnam will not be over-hasty," and that the U.S. is prepared "to spread some sort of umbrella for the security of the region."

In the case of Malaysia, with which the U.S. has no military treaties and which is not even a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, this pledge would amount to a greater extension of U.S. intervention.

Heath's tour

Heath, the opposition leader in Britain, whose Conservative Party has high hopes of ousting the Labor Government this year, visited Malaya on the same day as Agnew during a tour that took him also to Australia, Indonesia, Singapore and Hong Kong. He put forward a much-publicized line that if the Tories come to office they will reverse the current Labor Government position of allegedly pulling out of Britain's "East of Suez" bases by 1971.

Lt. Gen. Jesus Vargas, the Filipino secretary-general of SEATO (who was removed from his post as commander-in-chief of the Philippine army in the late 1950s when charged with involvement in a CIA-inspired military takeover plot), had said on Dec. 23 from SEATO's Bangkok headquarters that the British government's plan to "withdraw" some of its forces had lowered morale in several Asian countries, "and that the U.S. 'needed to clarify its new Asia policy.'"

Aim of tours

The Agnew and Heath tours were thus evidently made in response to pleas from imperialist

puppets for assurance that Nixon's talk of withdrawal from Vietnam and of "Vietnamization" and Wilson's verbalizing about withdrawing from "East of Suez" do not mean that these puppets will be left by themselves to contend with liberation movements. U.S. and British imperialist spokesmen have had to be more open about their schemes in order to raise the "morale" of their neo-colonial allies.

What Heath proposes is a new British-led military bloc to protect the two billion dollar investment and trade interests of British corporations in the region. As the London Times has put it, "his five-power force, consisting of Singapore, Malaysia, New Zealand, Australia and British components, clearly foreshadows an integrated command structure and agreed political commitments — a mini-NATO, in fact."

Parallel business trip

By no coincidence, the Heath tour preceded a visit by Roy Mason, president of the British Board of Trade, to Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Singapore, to "show Britain's trade flag."

Heath, on his return to London, declared that "there are tremendous opportunities for British trade and investment, and some of the people in the area are almost desperate that we, rather than the Americans or the Japanese, should seize them," indicating that the umbrellas that he and Agnew would like to raise over the area are not unlikely to be jabbed in each other's eyes.

The Tory dispute with the Labor Government over "abandoning East of Suez" bases is really a question of degree and not of basic policy. In the blueprint of Harold Wilson and his defense minister, Denis Healey, British armed forces in Southeast Asia now numbering 50,000 will be cut by 1971 to 10,000 in a permanent force based in Hong Kong, the

big naval base at Singapore will be turned over to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's government, "training" bases with a rotating 2000-man Marine Commando battalion will be maintained in Malaysia and Singapore, there will be frequent military "exercises" with British participation, and a "naval presence" will exist in Southeast Asian waters at least four months out of the year.

Airlift demonstration

Later in 1970 a massive air-lift exercise of British troops from home bases to Singapore will be held to prove how quickly British "aid" can be "re-drawn" to the area. At the same time a conference of the five powers concerned will discuss final "defense" arrangements after 1971; it is this that Heath wants to turn into a British treaty commitment to keep troops in the area.

As the London Times pointed out Jan. 9, "all that Mr. Heath would have to do to make his own promises come true would be to alter the emphasis on the training program, so that at least one battalion appeared to be training in the area at any one moment, and so that the frequency of naval visits was increased to the point where a continuous naval presence was more or less achieved...."

"The withdrawal process planned by Mr. Healey will certainly enable Mr. Heath to retain a military presence on the mainland of Asia if he succeeds in winning the next election."

In fact, the Labor Government's timetable of May, 1971, for the carrying out of its plan is AFTER the next election, making any alteration easy.

Brunei operation

An indication of how phony the Wilson-Healey "Withdrawal" policy actually is was provided in December when the Sultan of